

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15

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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5621

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USCINCEUR

USNMR SHAPE

S E C R E T USNATO 2586

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: DUTCH CIRCULATE EXPANDED PROVISION ON UNDI-
MINISHED SECURITY

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

REF: STATE 56461

1. AT MAY 10 SPC MEETING (AGAIN DEVOTED ENTIRELY TO
PHASE LINKAGE ISSUES), DUTCH REP (BUWALDA) CIRCULATED
PROMISED FORMULATION AIMED AT REINFORCING A PROVISION
ON UNDIMINISHED SECURITY (ALONG LINES REFTTEL) WITH
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ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE OF A NON-CIRCUMVENTION CHARACTER,
WITH LATTER AIMED AT COVERING REDEPLOYMENT OF OTHER
THAN WITHDRAWN FORCES.

2. IN BRIEF STATEMENT DUTCH REP STRESSED THAT FORMULATION WAS INTENDED TO STIMULATE INTERNAL ALLIED DISCUSSION OF NON-CIRCUMVENTION QUESTION, AND THAT IN NO CASE DID THE HAGUE WISH LANGUAGE OF THIS KIND TO BE DISCUSSED WITH THE WARSAW PACT IN THE NEAR FUTURE. INSTEAD, NEGOTIATORS SHOULD CONTINUE TO EMPHASIZE GEOGRAPHIC DISPARITIES FAVORING WP.

3. TEXT OF DUTCH NOTE FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT:

SPEAKING NOTES

REF: PARA 30 OF CM(73)83(FINAL) - (NON-CIRCUMVENTION).

1. PARAGRAPH 30 OF CM(73)83(FINAL) REFLECTS THE PREOCCUPATIONS OF THE ALLIANCE THAT THE SOVIET UNION COULD USE THE TERRITORIES ADJACENT TO THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS OR THOSE ADJACENT TO NATO'S FLANKCOUNTRIES FOR A BUILD-UP OF ITS FORCES IN THE POST-MBFR SITUATION. THE NETHERLANDS AUTHORITIES STILL BELIEVE THAT THESE CONCERNS ARE LEGITIMATE.

2. IT HAS BEEN CONCLUDED BY THE WORKING GROUP THAT RECIPROCAL APPLICATION OF THE CONSTRAINZHONVISAGED IN PARAGRAPH 30 WOULD BE INTOLERABLE FOR NATO'S DEFENSE POSTURE AND FLEXIBILITY. NEVERTHELESS, WE CONSIDER IT NECESSARY FOR THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS TO CONTINUE TO SET OUT TO THE OTHER SIDE IN AN APPROPRIATE WAY OUR CONCERNS, POINTING TO THE OBVIOUS GEOGRAPHICAL DISPARITIES FAVOURING THE EASTERN SIDE. THIS WOULD AT LEAST HAVE THE ADVANTAGE OF STRENGTHENING OUR NEGOTIATING POSITION WITH A VIEW TO OBTAINING SATISFACTORY NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROVISIONS, PERHAPS ACCOMPANIED BY A JOINT OR UNILATERAL INTERPRETATIVE DEDARATION OF THE PERTINENT NON-CIRCUMVENTION CLAUSE.

3. WE DO NOT THINK, HOWEVER, THAT NOW IS THE RIGHT TIME TO PROPOSE TO THE EAST SPECIFIC FORMULATIONS OR PROVISIONS TO
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MEET OUR PREOCCUPATIONS. FROM A TACTICAL POINT OF VIEW IT WOULD BE WISER TO CONTINUE TO SOUND OUT THE OTHER SIDE AS TO THE ACCEPTABILITY OF POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS TO MEET THE CONCERNS OF THE DIRECT AND THE SPECIAL STATUS PARTICIPANTS.

4. IN THE MEANTIME, SPC SHOULD CONTINUE TO SEEK A COMMON POSITION WHICH THE ALLIANCE EVENTUALLY WOULD BE WILLING TO ACCEPT. TO THIS END, WE PROPOSE THE FOLLOWING PROVISIONS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE 1ST PHASE MBFR AGREEMENT.

5. "IN IMPLEMENTING THE WITHDRAWALS SPECIFIED IN THE AGREEMENT, THE U.S.A. AND THE U.S.S.R. UNDERTAKE NOT TO REDEPLOY THEIR FORCES IN A MANNER INCONSISTENT WITH

THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR ALL PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THEY WILL REFRAIN FROM ANY ACTION WHICH COULD BE DETRIMENTAL TO THE GENERAL OBJECTIVE OF CONTRIBUTING TO A MORE STABLE MILITARY RELATIONSHIP AND TO THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE."

6. IT IS ASSUMED THAT THE SPECIAL STATUS PARTICIPANTS WILL NOT SIGN THE AGREEMENT. THEREFORE, THE FORMULATION "ALL PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS" IS USED. AN INCREASE OF THE THREAT TO THE FLANKS RESULTING FROM WITHDRAWALS INTO THE AREAS ADJACENT TO "PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS" WOULD BE INCONSISTENT WITH THE OBLIGATIONS ENVISAGED IN THE FIRST PHRASE.

7. THE SECOND PHRASE, IN COMBINATION WITH THE FIRST, IS I.A. DESIGNED TO ADDRESS UNACCEPTABLE REDEPLOYMENTS OF OTHER THAN THE WITHDRAWN FORCES INTO AREAS ADJACENT TO THE REDUCTION AREA OR TO THE FLANK-COUNTRIES, INCLUDING HUNGARY.

8. BOTH PHRASES WOULD HAVE TO BE COMPLEMENTED BY SOME SORT OF DECLARATION, ALBEIT ONLY A UNILATERAL WESTERN DECLARATION, RECORDING THE INTERPRETATION THAT REDEPLOYMENT OF THE WITHDRAWN OR OTHER FORCES INTO SPECIFIED AREAS WOULD BE CONTRARY TO THESE PROVISIONS. IN THIS CONTEXT HUNGARY WOULD HAVE TO BE EXPLICITLY MENTIONED.

9. THE NON-CIRCUMVENTION FORMULATIONS AS MENTIONED ABOVE ARE OF SUCH A GENERAL NATURE, THAT A CONSULTATION PROCEDURE SEEMS
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TO BE INDISPENSABLE. REFERENCE IS MADE TO THE A.B.M. TREATY AND THE AGREEMENT CONCERNING THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR. THE ABOVE PROVISION WOULD, THEREFORE, HAVE TO BE COMPLEMENTED BY A CLAUSE WHICH COULD READ AS FOLLOWS:

10. IF AT ANY TIME PROBLEMS SHOULD ARISE CONCERNING COMPLIANCE WITH THIS PROVISION OR RELATED QUESTIONS, THE PARTIES SHALL ENTER INTO URGENT CONSULTATIONS SO AS TO AVOID ANY MISUNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THEM AND TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO AVERT ANY POSSIBLE RISK FOR INTERNATIONAL STABILITY AND SECURITY IN EUROPE.

11. A "RELATED QUESTION" COULD BE THE REDEPLOYMENT OF OTHER THAN WITHDRAWN FORCES INTO AREAS OF CONCERN TO NATO.
END TEXT.
RUMSFELD

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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COPENHAGEN
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LONDON
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